

Message Text

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 KIGALI 01346 01 OF 02 140849Z
ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 AID-05 PC-01 ICA-11 AGR-01
EB-08 OMB-01 TRSE-00 /050 W
-----086270 140908Z /15

R 111357Z AUG 78
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6521
INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 KIGALI 1346

DEPT PASS AID/PC/ICA

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PDEV, PGOV, RW
SUBJECT: TRENDS IN RWANDA, JULY 1978: IN SEARCH OF NATIONAL
UNITY AND PRIDE

SUMMARY: NATIONAL DAY AND PROJECTS WEEK GAVE
PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA AND OTHER GOVERNMENT LEADERS
STAGE TO DISCUSS RWANDA'S PRESENT AND FUTURE. IN
MEASURED STOCK-TAKING, HABYARIMANA ACKNOWLEDGED SUCH
PROBLEMS AS INDISCIPLINE AND LACK OF DEVOTION TO
DUTY AMONG CIVIL SERVANTS AND MILITARY, GROWING STREET
CRIME, NEED FOR ADEQUATE SALARIES, AND NEED FOR GREATER
SELF-RELIANCE AND SELF-CONFIDENCE. RWANDAN LEADERS
ALSO TROUBLED BY PROBLEMS WITH KEY AGRICULTURAL CROPS
COFFEE AND BANANAS. AND UNDERLYING ALL, BY LEGACY
OF FEAR AND SUSPICION FROM FEUDAL PAST. BEING TESTS
OF NATIONAL UNITY SOON TO COME: NATIONAL CENSUS
SECOND HALF OF AUGUST, CONSTITUTIONAL REFERENDUM
PERHAPS IN DECEMBER, AND RESIDENTIAL AND LEGISLATIVE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 KIGALI 01346 01 OF 02 140849Z

ELECTIONS A FEW MONTHS LATER. GOVERNMENT'S RELATIVELY
GOOD RECORD GIVES LITTLE EXCUSE FOR REJOICING --
BIGGER CHALLENGES LIE AHEAD. END SUMMARY.

I. TAKING INVENTORY:
NATIONAL DAY AND PROJECTS WEEK.
PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA USED THE OCCASION OF FIFTH ANNI-

VERSARY OF HIS ACCESSION TO POWER JULY 5 TO DELIVER
REMARKABLE "STATE OF UNION" MESSAGE DEFENDING HIS
GOVERNMENT'S RECORD, ADMITTING MANY SHORTCOMINGS, HANDO
CALLING FOR SUPPORT IN MOVING SOCIETY FORWARD IN
ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT. HE
REVIEWED BACKGROUND TO 1973 MILITARY TAKEOVER, POLICIES
ADOPTED BY HIS GOVERNMENT, AND PRESENT STATUS OF
EACH MINISTRY AND MAJOR INSTITUTION, ESPECIALLY IN
TERMS OF DEVELOPMENT OBJECTIVES. BY HIS OPEN AND
ULTIMATELY OPTIMISTIC TONE, HABYARIMANA IMPLIED THAT
THE RWANDAN PEOPLE HAVE IT IN THEIR POWER TO BETTER
THEIR CONDITION. AS EXPLAINED PRIVATELY BY DONAT
MUREGO, THE PRESIDENTIAL ADVISOR MOST RESPONSIBLE FOR
DRAFTING THE SPEECH, HABYARIMANA IS ADDRESSING A SOCIETY
RECENTLY EMERGED FROM SAVAGERY (I.E., TUTSI DOMINATION
OF THE HUTU MAJORITY). ON ONE HAND PEOPLE IRRATIONALLY
FEAR POSSIBLE RETURN TO FORMER LOW ESTATE; ON OTHER
HAND, HAVING ALREADY IMPROVED THEIR LOT, THEY CAN BE
OPTIMISTIC ABOUT GOING FURTHER. HABYARIMANA TRIES
TO OVERCOME FEARS AND ENCOURAGE MAXIMUM EFFORT AT
SELF-GOVERNMENT.

FOR MOST OF REMAINDER OF MONTH HABYARIMANA AND OTHER
LEADERS ATTENDED SERIES OF CEREMONIES ALL OVER COUNTRY
TO OPEN CONSTRUCTION OF PROJECTS OR CELEBRATE THEIR
COMPLETION. WHILE PROJECTS, SPREAD THROUGH ALL TEN
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 KIGALI 01346 01 OF 02 140849Z

PREFECTURES, WERE IMPRESSIVE IN NUMBER, HARDLY
ANY REPRESENTED IMPROVEMENTS IN AGRICULTURAL OR
INDUSTRIAL CAPACITY. ONLY INDUSTRIAL PROJECTS WERE
TINY TANNERY AND INSULATION SHEET FACTORY. OTHER
MODERNIZATION PROJECTS INCLUDED INSTALLATION OF
INSTRUMENT LANDING SYSTEM AT KIGALI INTERNATIONAL
AIRPORT, GROUNDBREAKING FOR PAVING KIGALI-BUTARE-
BURUNDI BORDER ROAD, AND A FEW AGRICULTURAL WAREHOUSES
AND PRODUCER OF CONSUMER COOPERATIVES. MAJORITY OF
PROJECTS WERE SCHOOLS, OFFICES AND MEDICAL FACILITIES,
FINANCED BY LOCAL COMMUNITIES, OFTEN WITH CONTRIBU-
TIONS ALSO FROM RELIGIOUS OR OTHER VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS
EMPHASIS WAS ON BOOTSTRAP SELF-RELIANCE
EFFORT AS HABYARIMANA ATTENDED ONE OR TWO PROJECT
CEREMONIES DAILY. FOR THE MOST PART, LARGER PROJECTS
FINANCED WITH FOREIGN AID DID NOT FIGURE IN THIS
ROUND OF CEREMONIES.

II. LOOKING PROBLEM IN THE EYE.

HABYARIMANA AND CABINET MINISTERS DEVOTED GREATEST
PART OF THEIR DECISIONMAKING AND SPEECHMAKING EFFORTS

TO THE FOLLOWING PROBLEMS:

A. CIVIL SERVICE SALARIES: AFTER THREE YEARS OF
AUSTERELY HOLDING INE ON CIVIL SERVICE SALARIES,
GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCED EARLY JULY INCREASE OF 20 PRCENT
FOR LOWEST CATEGORIES, AND SMALLER PERCENTAGE INCREASE
FOR HIGH GRADES -- 10 PERCENT FOR MOST SENIOR. THIS
ISSUE ABSORBED COUNCIL OF MINISTERS BETTER PART OF
FOUR SESSIONS BEFORE THEY AGREED TO PAY RISE FORMULA.
CIVIL SERVANTS' STANDARD OF LIVING HAS BEEN EATEN
INTO HIGHER PRICES, ESPECIALLY FOR IMPORTED MANUFACTURED
ARTILCLES. IN ANNOUNCING RAISE, GOVERNMENT EMPHASIZED
THAT IT IS SMALLER THAN RISE IN COST OF
LIVING. POINTS WERE MADE BOTH THAT FISCAL RESOURCES ARE SLENDER
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 04 KIGALI 01346 01 OF 02 140849Z

("SCRAPED BOTOOM OF COFFERS," SAID PRESS
ACCOUNT). AND THAT LIVING STANDARD GAP NOT TO BE WIDENED BETWEEN
GOVERNMENT WORKS AND VAST MAJORITY OF SUBSISTENCE
FARMERS WITH MINISCULE CASH INCOME.

B. AGRICULTURE PROBLEMS WITH COFFEE AND BANANAS.

AT PROJECT INAUGURATIONS, AGRICULTURE MINISTER
NZAMURAMBAHO SPOKE WITH FEELING OF THREAT TO PRODUCTIVITY
OF RWANDAN COFFEE-GROWERS BECAUSE OF INSECT INFESTATION.
USE OF PESTICIDES ENCOURAGED, BUT THUS FAR
INSECTS WERE GAINING, AND PROSPECTS FOR RWANDA'S MOST
IMPORTANT EXPORT CROP (RESPONSIBLE FOR 60 PERCENT OF
TOTAL REVENUE IN 1977) ARE DECLINING. RECENT RECORD
PRICES LED GOR TO ENCOURAGE FARMERS TO PLANT COFFEE --
HALF OF ALL FARMS NOW INCLUDE COFFEE TREES, AND
GOVERNMENT-OWNED MARKETING ORGANIZATION PAYS 120
FRANCS PER KILO, UP FROM 65 FRANCS BEFORE 1977. WITH
WORL PRICES SLIDING AND RWANDAN YIELDS THREATENED,

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 KIGALI 01346 02 OF 02 140914Z
ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 AID-05 PC-01 ICA-11 AGR-01

EB-08 OMB-01 TRSE-00 /050 W

-----086360 140918Z /15

R 111357Z AUG 78

FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6522
INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 2 OF 2 KIGALI 1346

TROUBLE LIES JUST AHEAD. BANA PROBLEM IS THAT
HIGH DEMAND FOR BANANA BEER MAKES CULTIVATION HIGHLY
LUCRATIVE WHILE REQUIRING LITTLE LABOR. LIVELY DEBATE
HAS BEGUN THROUGH GOVERNMENT-CONTROLLED PRESS WHETHER
"MYTH OF BANANA" HAS REPLACED CATTLE OF TUTSI FEUDAL DAYS AS
MODERN SYMBOL OF WEALTH. GOVERNMENT WISHES FARMERS WOULD GROW
MORE PROTEIN-RICH CROPS SUCH AS BEANS AND MEAT (ESPECIALLY
CHICKENS AND RABBITS)
INSTEAD OF BANANAS, BUT AS NO MEANS OF OVERCOMING STRUCTURAL
FACTORS WORKING AGAINST IT.

C. PETTY CRIME. ROBBERIES HAVE INCREASED IN URBAN
AREAS, MOSTLY PERPETRATED BY UNEMPLOYED SCHOOL LEAVERS.
GOR RESTRICTS PERMISSION TO LIVE IN TOWNS TO THOSE WITH
LEGITIMATE EMPLOYMENT OR BUSINESS THERE,
BUT GROWING NUMBER OF SEMI-LITERATE BUT UNSKILLED YOUTHS
WAITING FOR WAGE JOBS IS BECOMING SOCIAL PROBLEM CALLING FOR
MORE IMAGINATIVE APPROACH. SO FAR GOR RELYING ON PEP TALKS
AND POLICE ACTION

D. INDISCIPLINE AND LACK OF DEVOTION TO DUTY. SIMILARLY,
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 KIGALI 01346 02 OF 02 140914Z

LEADERS HAVE EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT BEHAVIOR OF PRIVILEGED
PEOPLE WHO SHOULD SET BETTER EXAMPLE. ONE GROUP CITED BY PRESIDENT
IS NATIONAL GENDARMERIE, ESTABLISHED ONLY SINCE 1974 WITHIN
MINISTRY OF DEFENSE AND SUBJECT TO POOR PERFORMANCE AND MORALE.
FRENCH AID TO GENDARMERIE HAS NOT BEEN SUFFICIENT TO OVERCOME
PROBLEMS OF ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE, UNSATISFACTORY RECRUITMENT,
AND LACK OF RADIO AND VEHICLE EQUIPMENT AND MAINTENANCE. OTHERS
CRITICIZED INCLUDE SOME OF THE 143 BURGOMASTERS (OFFICIALS
APPOINTED THROUGH INTERIOR MINISTRY) ACCUSED OF USING PUBLIC
FUNDS FOR PERSONAL PROFIT AND NEGLECTING NEEDS OF
POPULATION DEPENDING ON THEM.

E. ETHNIC TENSIONS. ELEMENT OF HABYARIMANA'S OPENNESS THAT
SOMETIMES SHOCKS LISTENERS IS REFERENCE TO HIS "SLAVE" STATUS

OF MAJORITY OF POPULATION. REVOLUTION OF 1959 OVERTURNED CENTURIES-OLD TUTSI DOMINATION OF RWANDAN, BUT 90 PERCENT HUTU POPULATION STILL AFFECTED BY FORMER SERFDOM IN SUSPICION OF OUTSIDERS AND LACK OF SELF-CONFIDENCE. QUOTA SYSTEM IS INTENDED TO KEEP NUMBER OF TUTSIS IN KEY POSITIONS ROUGHLY TO THEIR PROPORTION OF POPULATION. BUT SINCE DISTINCTION BETWEEN TUTSI AND HUTU DEPENDS NEITHER ON NAME, PHYSICAL APPEARANCE, NOR GEOGRAPHIC CONSIDERATIONS, FALSIFICATION OF ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION IS NOT VERY ODBG FICULT. INTERIOR MINISTER HAS WARNED OF FIRM PENALTIES FOR FRAUD ON IDENTITY CARDS, WHICH IS TAKEN BY TUTSIS AS THREAT OF RENEWED REPRESSION AGAINST THEM. THEIR NERVOUSNESS IS HEIGHTENED BY APPROACH OF NATIONAL CENSUS, WHEN EACH HOUSEHOLD WILL BE ASKED ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION AMONG OTHER QUESTIONS.

III. BIG TESTS COMING UP: NATIONAL CENSUS AND CONSTITUTIONAL REFERENDUM.

A. CENSUS. RWANDA'S FIRST FULL CENSUS WILL BE CONDUCTED AUGUST 16-31 BY SOME 4,000 SCHOOL TEACHERS ORGANIZED BY OFFICE ATTACHED LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 KIGALI 01346 02 OF 02 140914Z

TO PRESIDENCY, AND WITH TECHNICAL SUPPORT OF UNDP. GOVERNMENT MAKING EFFORTS TO ASSURE PEOPLE PURPOSE OF CENSUS IS BENIGN, BUT GIVEN RWANDA'S HISTORY IT IS NOT SURPRISING THAT FEARS AND SUSPICIONS RUN HIGH. TO PREDICTABLE FEARS OF TAXMAN, ARMY RECRUITER, AND MANDATORY FAMILY PLANNER -- ALL WITHOUT APPARENT FOUNDATION IN THIS CASE -- IS ADDED FEAR ON PART OF TUTSIS THAT THEY ARE TO BE SINGLED OUT FOR DISCRIMINATORY TREATMENT, OR WORSE. HIS TOO IS DOUBTFUL, BUT WE KNOW OF HUTUS BULLYING TUTSIS WITH THREATS OF WHAT WILL FOLLOW CENSUS; AND THERE ARE REPORTS SOME TUTSIS FLEEING COUNTRY OR PREPARING TO DO SO. MAJOR TEST FOR GOVERNMENT WILL BE CARRYING OUT CENSUS EFFECTIVELY AND WITHOUT INCIDENTS OF ETHNIC VIOLENCE. HABYARIMANA AND OTHERS AT POLICY LEVEL HAVE DELAYED STRAIGHTFORWARDLY WITH FEARS AND TENSIONS BY ACKNOWLEDGING THEM AND INSISTING THAT THEY ARE BASELESS. QUESTION IS WHETHER OFFICIAL ATTITUDES HAVE BEEN TAKEN TO HEART BY GENERAL POPULATION.

B. CONSTITUTIONAL REFERENDUM. IN 1975, HABYARIMANA PROMISED RETURN TO LEGAL INSTITUTIONS VIA NATIONAL REFERENDUM ON CONSTITUTION OF SECOND REPUBLIC. DRAFT OF NEW CONSTITUTION IS ABOUT TO BE PRESENTED TO NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT FOR DEVELOPMENT (MRND), ONLY PERMITTED POLITICAL ORGANIZATION. TEXT CALLS FOR STRONG PRESIDENT ELECTED BY UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE FOR FIVE YEAR TERM. SOLE CANDIDATE WILL BE PRESIDENT OF MRND: HABYARIMANA HIMSELF. IN ADDITION, NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL (LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY) WILL BE ELECTED, PROBABLY AT SAME TIME. DETAILS ON NOMINATION AND ELECTION PROCEDURES ARE NOT YET DECIDED. TRANSITION PERIOD WILL INVOLVE PRESENTATION OF CONSTITUTION AND LOCAL DISCUSSIONS LED BY MRND LEADERS ALL

OVER COUNTRY, FOLLOWED BY REFERENDUM ITSELF PERHAPS AS EARLY AS THIS DECEMBER. IT WILL BE ANOTHER MAJOR TEST OF NATIONAL UNITY AND PRIDE FOR HABYARIMANA GOVERNMENT.

IV. POSTSCRIPT: WORTHY OBJECTIVES, YES, BUT.....

IN THE CONTEXT OF RWANDA'S HISTORY AND RESOURCES,
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 04 KIGALI 01346 02 OF 02 140914Z

HABYARIMANA IS REMARKABLY LIBERAL AND FARSIGHTED. BUT HE HAS HIS LIMITATIONS, TOO; NOTABLY, ATTACHMENT TO RELATIVELY RIGID STRUCTURES AND SOMETIMES UNREALISTIC STANDARDS OF BEHAVIOR. EXAMPLE OF THE FORMER IS OVER-RELIANCE ON EX CATHEDRA PRONOUNCEMENTS TO ESTABLISH POLICY. EXAMPLE OF LATTER IS ENCOURAGING SENIOR GOVERNMENT AND MILITARY LEADERS TO BE ENTREPRENEURS, BUT WITHOUT ADEQUATE SAFEGUARDS AGAINST CONFLICTS OF INTEREST.

RWANDAN LEADERSHIP IS GENERALLY AWARE OF ITS PROBLEMS AND DOING ITS BEST TO DEAL WITH THEM. BUT THE ROAD AHEAD APPEARS EVEN TOUGHER, AND THE RESOURCES ARE MEAGRE TO MEET THE NEXT ROUND OF CHALLENGES.
CRIGLER

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TRENDS, NATIONAL UNIFICATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 11 aug 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978KIGALI01346
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780331-0787
Format: TEL
From: KIGALI
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780875/aaaackhm.tel
Line Count: 304
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 1bdaf264-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION AF
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 27 apr 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1770712
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: TRENDS IN RWANDA, JULY 1978: IN SEARCH OF NATIONAL UNITY AND PRIDE SUMMARY: NATIONAL DAY AND PROJECTS WEEK
GAVE
TAGS: PDEV, PGOV, RW
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/1bdaf264-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014